

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION ONE OF TWO GENEVA 2115

SUMMARY: AS THE PRESSURES OF THE FINAL NEGOTIATING PHASE OF CSCE START TO BUILD, THE SOVIETS HAVE TRIED TO ADVANCE IN CERTAIN SUBJECT AREAS, BUT HAVE CONTINUED TO PROBE WESTERN POSITIONS AND TO HANG TOUGH ON ISSUES WHICH THEY CONSIDER SENSITIVE, SUCH AS INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS. THUS THERE HAS BEEN NO RUSH OF SOVIET CONCESSIONS, AND, PARTLY AS A RESULT OF THIS, MANY WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS ARE STICKING TO IDEAS THEY CONSIDER IMPORTANT. THE SOVIETS MAY HAVE BEGUN TO FEEL TIME PRESSURE, BUT THUS FAR HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO MEET THEIR OWN SCHEDULE. THIS TELEGRAM ANALYZES THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CSCE AND THE KEY ISSUES WHICH REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED, AND CONCLUDES THAT, PROVIDED SOVIETS MAKE SOME KEY CONCESSIONS, IT IS STILL POSSIBLE TO FINISH STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS IN TIME FOR A STAGE III IN EARLY-TO-MID JULY. END SUMMARY.

1. WHILE THE SOVIETS HAVE MADE A FEW MOVES TOWARD COMPROMISE IN RECENT WEEKS, THEY ARE BASICALLY CONTINUING THEIR PATTERN OF PROBING WESTERN DELEGATIONS INDIVIDUALLY, TO GET A FULL PICTURE OF THE TERMS ON WHICH A SUBJECT CAN BE SETTLED BEFORE DECIDING ON THE MINIMAL CONCESSIONS NECESSARY ON THEIR PART IN ORDER TO CONCLUDE IT. AS A RESULT, VISIBLE PROGRESS HAS NOT BEEN AS GREAT AS WAS GENERALLY EXPECTED

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PRIOR TO THE EASTER RECESS. THE LACK OF SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO FIND REASONABLE COMPROMISES HAS BROUGHT A SIMILAR

ATTITUDE AMONG WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS, WHO REALIZE THAT IF THEY SIMPLY ACCEPT SOVIET TERMS, EVEN ON ONE OR TWO RELATIVELY MINOR ISSUES, THE SOVIETS WILL BE ENCOURAGED TO INSIST ON THEIR OWN VIEWS ON ISSUES OF MORE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE. THUS THE OPTIMISM AND THE COMPROMISING SPIRIT OF TWO MONTHS AGO HAS BEEN TEMPERED BY A REALIZATION THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT PRODUCE A RUSH OF CONCESSIONS, AT LEAST NOT YET. NEVERTHELESS, THE PROBING OF POSITIONS AND THE INFORMAL ROUND OF CONTACTS WHICH IT ENGENDERS, HAS SERVED TO IDENTIFY DIFFERENCES OF VIEW, TO PINPOINT DRAFTING PROBLEMS, AND THUS TO FACILITATE THE REGISTRATION OF TEXTS WHEN THEY ARE RIPE FOR AGREEMENT.

2. THE PRESENT SITUATION IS ALSO INFLUENCED BY THE FACT THAT ALL DELEGATES HERE REALIZE THAT STAGE II OF CSCE IS ENTERING ITS FINAL PHASE. THIS HAS PRODUCED A TENDENCY ON ALL SIDES TO STICK TO POSITIONS ON ISSUES WHICH ARE CONSIDERED IMPORTANT. SINCE THERE ARE FEW ISSUES REMAINING WHICH ARE NOT IMPORTANT TO AT LEAST SOME DELEGATIONS, THIS HAS MADE CONCRETE PROGRESS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT THAN IT WAS BEFORE. THE SOVIETS HAVE REACTED NERVOUSLY IN THIS SITUATION, AND HAVE BEGUN TO USE PRESSURE TACTICS MORE THAN THEY DID IN THE PAST. THEY HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY ROUGH WITH FRG AND FRENCH, AND HAVE CAUSED SOME RESENTMENT IN THOSE DELEGATIONS; THEY HAVE ALSO USED THE WORD "BLACKMAIL" TO US ON TWO RECENT OCCASIONS, A STEP WHICH IS MARKEDLY DIFFERENT FROM OUR USUAL GOOD WORKING RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET DELEGATION. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEIR DELEGATION HAS BEGUN TO PERCEIVE THE NEGOTIATING BOX WHICH IS NOW CLOSING IN AROUND THEM: A DEADLINE FOR COMPLETION OF THE CONFERENCE SET BY BREZHNEV HIMSELF, AND LIMITED NUMBER OF CONCESSIONS TO OFFER IN ORDER TO MEET IT. WE WOULD EXPECT THESE TRENDS TO CONTINUE TO DEVELOP AFTER EASTER, A FACTOR WHICH WOULD COMPOUND THE DIFFICULTY WHICH THE CONFERENCE FACES IN TRYING TO MEET THE TIMETABLE CURRENTLY ENVISAGED BY MOST DELEGATIONS HERE, UNDER WHICH STAGE II WOULD BE COMPLETED ABOUT THE END OF MAY OR MID-JUNE, FOR A STAGE III IN EARLY TO MID-JULY.

3. REMAINING SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES -- THERE FOLLOWS A SUMMARY
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OF THE KEY REMAINING SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES IN CSCE, AND
THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION IN EACH CASE:

A. PRINCIPLES: A KNOT OF INTERLOCKING ISSUES RELATING TO GERMANY AND THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE: PEACEFUL CHANGE, QRR SAVING CLAUSE, AND LANGUAGE ON EQUAL VALUE AND INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF ALL THE PRINCIPLES. US DEL HAS TABLED NEW PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE WHICH IS WIDELY ACCEPTED, ALTHOUGH THE FRG HAS SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH THE GERMAN LANGUAGE TRANSLATION PRODUCED BY THE CSCE SECRETARIAT.

THE FRENCH, WHILE AGREEING TO THE WORDING OF THE NEW TEXT AND ITS PLACEMENT IN THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY, HAVE LINKED REGISTRATION TO AGREEMENT ON THE QRR SAVING CLAUSE AND LANGUAGE ON EQUAL VALUE. THE ROMANIANS HAVE REFUSED EVEN TO DISCUSS THE PEACEFUL CHANGE SENTENCE UNTIL THE SECOND READING OF THE PRINCIPLES, AND HAVE TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THEY HAVE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH IT. QRR TEXT WAS TABLED BY FRANCE LAST DECEMBER, AND HAS PROVOKED STRONG REACTIONS FROM NEUTRALS AND ROMANIA ON GROUNDS THAT IT REINFORCES THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE. WE FEEL A COMPROMISE WILL HAVE TO BE FOUND, BUT THE FRENCH, EVIDENTLY BECAUSE OF SAUVAGNARGUES' PERSONAL INTEREST, HAVE THUS FAR REFUSED TO CONSIDER ANY FALLBACKS. FRENCH ARE ALSO SPONSORS OF EXISTING WESTERN DRAFT FOR LANGUAGE ON EQUAL VALUE OF PRINCIPLES.

B. CBM ON MANEUVERS: SOVIETS HAVE RECENTLY ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WOULD BE FLEXIBLE ON PARAMETERS FOR A MANEUVERS CBM IF CSCE CAN AGREE "IN PRINCIPLE" THAT CBMS WILL BE COLUNTARY. GENERAL NATO AND NEUTRAL REACTION HAS BEEN THAT THERE IS NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE TO THE IDEA OF VOLUNTARINESS, PROVIDED SOVIETS CAN GIVE A CLEARER PICTURE OF PARAMENTERS WHICH MIGHT THEN BE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM. ROMANIANS HAVE MEANWHILE REJECTED IDEA OF VOLUNTARINESS, WITH SUPPORT FROM DUTCH.

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